CONSTRUCTION OF LEADERSHIP DISCOURSE DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN JAKARTA

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ABSTRACT

Using discourse analysis, this study aims at investigating construction of leadership discourse of the Jakarta Governor's utterances who served from 2017—2022 during the Covid-19 pandemic. Using Van Dijk's notion of propositions, one article of online newspaper articles published in 2020 is studied. The construction encompasses eight macro propositions obtained from the relation among micro propositions. The micro propositions in his speech also lead to the findings that they are dominantly classified into a directive type of illocutionary act which functions to order. Another type found is assertive which functions to inform the current situation, affirm his proposition, and express his opinion.

Keywords: *Covid-19 Pandemic; Illocutionary Act; Leadership, Proposition*

ABSTRAK

Dengan menggunakan analisis wacana, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menginvestigasi konstruksi wacana kepemimpinan dari tuturan seorang Gubernur DKI Jakarta periode 2017—2022 selama masa pandemik Covid-19. Dengan menggunakan gagasan dari Van Dijk tentang proposisi, sebuah artikel berita daring yang diterbitkan pada 2020 dikaji. Delapan proposisi makro ditemukan dari hubungan antar proposisi mikro. Proposisi mikro tersebut juga membawa peneliti pada temuan bahwa proposisi tersebut secara dominan diklasifikan ke dalam jenis direktif dalam tindak ilokusi yang berfungsi untuk memerintah. Jenis tindak ilokusi lain yang ditemukan adalah asertif yang berfungsi untuk memberikan informasi terhadap situasi terkini saat itu, menegaskan proposisinya, dan mengekspresikan pendapatnya.

Kata Kunci: *Kepemimpinan; Pandemik Covid-19; Proposisi; Tindak Ilokusi*

INTRODUCTION

The covid-19 pandemic was a global phenomenon that happened all around the world, infected more than a million people and killed thousands of people in 2020 (Sallard et al., 2020). This massive health problem was inevitable for any regions or countries, especially Jakarta, Indonesia. To slow this spread, Indonesian governments controlled citizens' activities by implementing a lockdown-like policy (Syuhada et al., 2021). However, the number of cases escalated in the following year and Jakarta ranked the top region in Indonesia with the highest number of coronavirus cases (Azanella & Nugroho, 2020). Months later, these cases decreased significantly (Reuters, 2021).

Leadership carries the meaning of a person or thing that leads. It could be defined as function, capability, and position to lead others to success (Ayub et al., 2014). In other words, it is defined as one's competence to persuade others to attain their aims (Ayub et al., 2014; Saleem, 2015; Northouse, 2019). It is also closely related to a person with a position of authority to lead an organization and expected to provide responsibilities. A leader is associated with the capacity to rule (Ayub et al., 2014) and a crucial actor in disaster communication (Ewart et al., 2015). Politicians were involved in political leadership due to the fact that they were in the frontline delivery of information. They usually become spokespeople and representative of public face (Ewart et al., 2015).

Previous research investigating political leadership during the Covid-19 pandemic was conducted by Sambaraju (2022). Adopting a discourse analysis, he investigated discursive practices of Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, on how he managed his concerns in his communication with the Indian polity on TV and radio broadcast. Findings revealed that Modi's discursive practice functioned to run political service and

duties. Another previous research was conducted by Tessema (2019). He investigated the construction of leadership in the business media using Foucauldian discourse analysis. The results suggested that the construction showed effect for both followers' and leaders' perception.

Halliday & Hasan (1976) see discourse as a bigger structure than sentences, for instance, a paragraph. It is also defined as the relationship between form and function in verbal communication. Its objective is to provide a description between forms of discourse elements and their functions in communication (Renkema & Schubert, 2018). In addition, it is seen as a social practice (Fairclough, 1992; Wang, 2017). Discourse is also a means of politics (Jaworska & Vásquez, 2022) and contributes to frame identity, subject position, and social relation (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 2013). Fairclough (2013b) opines that discourse is a social practice due to the fact that language is a part of society, a social process, and a processed socially conditioned which is still a part of society. Thus, it could be viewed as how a text works in sociocultural practice. Van Dijk (Renkema & Schubert, 2018) formulates three discourse structures which are macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. The macrostructure is a global meaning of discourse, while superstructure is its framework, and microstructure is a relationship among sentences which can be represented through propositions.

The term 'proposition' is introduced by Van Dijk (2000) as a meaning unit conveying complete thought or an idea assumed as true or false. It is constructed in a simple clause encompassing a predicate and one or more arguments. Furthermore, Van Dijk also introduced concept of micro and macro propositions in discourse. The macro proposition is seen as a global thing, while micro is not. To conduct proposition analysis, three techniques, such as deletion, generalization, and construction are applied.

Deletion is conducted by deleting irrelevant propositions such as in the following example, *a girl in a yellow dress passed by*. This sentence could be broken down into three micro propositions such as: (1) *a girl passed by*; (2) *she was wearing a dress*; (3) *the dress was yellow*. Propositions (2) and (3) are irrelevant, thus only proposition (3) remains. The second technique is generalization which means some spesific propositions are altered into a more general one, for instance, *Mary was drawing a picture. Sally was skipping rope, and Daniel was building something with Lego block.* This technique does not merely delete irrelevant propositions, but also spesific propositions are also altered into *The children were playing.* The last technique is construction which constructs a new proposition obtained from existing propositions, such as *John went to the station. He bought a ticket, started running when he saw what time it was, and was forced to conclude that this watch was wrong when he reached the platform*. By applying the construction method, the alteration becomes *John missed the train* (Renkema & Schubert, 2018).

Speech act, a part of pragmatics, is defined as a study of how speakers and hearers use language. It is also an action performed through utterances (Yule, 1996). Searle, as one of the pioneers in pragmatics, classifies speech act into three categories, which are locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary act (Searle, 1969). A locutionary act is the fundamental act of utterance, while illocutionary act is performed through the communicative force, and perlocutionary act is the effect of creating an utterance (Searle, 1979; Yule, 1996). In addition, there are five ways of using language, Searle says them as the five general categories of illocutionary acts. Searle (1979) opines that we tell people how things are (assertive), get them to do things (directive), commit ourselves to do things

(commissive), express our feelings and attitudes (expressive), and bring about changes in the world through utterances (declarative). By adopting Van Dijk's notion of proposition, this research focuses on how leadership discourse is constructed through a relation among propositions. The objective of this study is to (1) investigate macro propositions uttered by Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, in his press briefing during the Covid-19 pandemic; (2) find out illocutionary acts based on the micro propositions.

METHOD

This research employs qualitative research and the data are taken from press briefings in March 2020 published by CNBCIndonesia.com. The data contain Government's regulations in tackling the corona virus spreading in Jakarta. The data are taken in 2020 due to the number of confirmed cases skyrocketing in that year. The press briefing was delivered by the former Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, who was in charge in 2017—2022.

The analysis was started by grouping the utterances in similar topics which forms a group of propositions. Furthermore, the three techniques of proposition analysis—deletion, generalization, and construction, are applied. The results of proposition analysis become macro propositions. The following step is to find out illocutionary acts referring to micro propositions gathered in advance.

RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

Macro Propositions

Referring to the first research objective which is finding out macro propositions, there are eight macro propositions obtained from the relation among propositions. They

encompass the Jakarta Governor's aims to tackle the spread of the covid-19 virus. They

are presented as follows.

Table 1. Macro Propositions

Number	Macro Propositions
1	*Kita semua memantau perkembangan covid-19 di Ibukota.*
2	*Seluruh warga harus bekerja sama*
3	*Mencegah pencegahan harus dilakukan kita*
4	*Semua warga Jakarta harus melakukan yang disebut distancing measure*
5	*Hindari keramaian*
6	*Kedisiplinan adalah kunci*
7	*Setiap tindakan disiplin kita melindungi diri sendiri, keluarga, masyarakat, dan Semua*
8	*Kita semua akan bisa melewati masa penuh tantangan ini dengan baik*

Illocutionary Acts

Referring to Searle's (1976; 1979) notion of speech act, especially in a illocutionary

act, the following findings are presented by classification of illocutionary acts emerging

in text. The findings are as follows.

Table 2. Illocutionary Acts

Propositions	*Types of Illocutionary Speech Act*
Penularan terjadi karena interaksi orang ke orang	*Assertive: informing*
Kita semua akan bisa melewati masa penuh tantangan ini dengan baik	*Assertive: opinion*
Sejak awal kami tegaskan jangan panik	*Assertive: affirming*
Kita harus disiplin dalam mengatur interaksi	*Directive: order*
Kita harus waspada	*Directive: order*
Jangan sekali-kali menganggap enteng	*Directive: order*
Jangan menganggap ringan atas masalah covid-19 ini	*Directive: order*
Seluruh warga harus bekerja sama	*Directive: order*
Kita semua harus ambil tanggung jawab	*Directive: order*
Kita semua harus terlibat	*Directive: order*

Semua warga Jakarta harus melakukan yang disebut distancing measure	*Directive: order*
Menjauhi tempat-tempat orang berkumpul banyak	*Directive: order*
Jangan keluar rumah kecuali amat penting	*Directive: order*
Hindari tempat-tempat yang berpotensi wahana penularan	*Directive: order*
Tunda semua kegiatan pengumpulan orang banyak	*Directive: order*
Tunda semua kegiatan yang sifatnya bersama-sama	*Directive: order*
Anak-anak tidak bepergian	*Directive: order*
Usahakan tidak bepergian ke luar kota	*Directive: order*
Cuci tangan dengan sabun sesering mungkin	*Directive: order*
Hindari jabat tangan	*Directive: order*
Gunakan masker jika flu dan batuk	*Directive: order*
Jangan sungkan untuk menjaga jarak sosial	*Directive: order*
Pesan ini disampaikan untuk dilaksanakan dengan sebaiknya	*Directive: order*

Referring to this research objectives which are: (1) investigating macro propositions uttered by the Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, in his press briefing during Covid-19 pandemic; and (2) identifying illocutionary acts obtained from the utterances, the analysis reveals that there are eight macro propositions. They are as a result of a proposition analysis by adopting deletion, generalization, and construction techniques. Based on the analysis, most of the macro propositions exhibit preventive actions which need to be carried out by all Jakarta citizens in order to stop the spread. These preventive actions exhibit how the Jakarta Governor, as a leader, performs his power and influence to reach objectives together. This point is similar to Sambaraju's finding (2022) that Modi, the Indian Prime Minister, gave specific orders regarding restriction during the plague. In addition, the eight macro propositions construct how the leader is viewed through his utterances which align with the idea that discourse is a building block constructing social identities, knowledge systems, and one's beliefs (Gowhary et al., 2015). Through propositions, the Jakarta Governor showed his belief that cooperation was the key to solving the plague. In his utterances, he emphasized that the spread depended on Jakarta

citizens, thus they had to be cooperative. Furthermore, discourse is also a complex communicative event which represents a situation among participants (Van Dijk, 1980).

In regard to the findings investigating illocutionary acts, most of the utterances are classified into directive which are nineteen directive categories in total and four assertive categories. This directive type is a speech act which aims to make interlocutors do something. By using a word *jangan* (do not), the utterances are clearly seen as directive type, especially an order. In addition, the Jakarta Governor also uses imperative sentences such as *hindari* (avoid), *tunda* (postpone), and *gunakan* (use) which show his order to his people to take preventive actions. These results show that as a leader, the Jakarta Governor gave orders to their people to obey regulations he made. In his utterances, he also emphasized his order by saying *harus* (must). Therefore, words can convey meaning implicitly or explicitly (Merrita, 2021), and text is connected through the use of words, phrases, or structures (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017).

Moreover, an assertive type also emerges through propositions. It is a speech act type which ties a speaker to the truth of the proposition. It expresses the speaker's beliefs such as asserting, claiming, predicting, asserting, retelling, informing, concluding, stating, believing, explaining, and convincing (Alam, 2023). The Jakarta Governor used the assertive type to inform his knowledge regarding the cause of the virus spread which happened because of interaction among people. By stating this information, it shows that his statement is assertive, functioning to inform. The other type of assertiveness could also be found in a proposition *Kita semua akan bisa melewati masa penuh tantangan ini dengan baik.* He uttered his opinion that he and Jakarta citizens could pass through this

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challenging condition well. Therefore, the proposition is an assertive type, functioning to express an opinion. Another type of assertive is *Sejak awal kami tegaskan jangan panik*. The use of *tegaskan* (emphasize) leads this proposition to an assertive type, functioning to affirm.

Using discourse analysis, this research presents the construction of leadership discourse by The Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, during the Covid-29 pandemic in 2020. He constructed himself as a leader who gave orders to solve the problem which emerges through relations of propositions. In addition, the results of illocutionary acts also support this construction due to the existence of directive and assertive types. Meanwhile, Tessema (2019), by using discourse analysis found that the leadership construction grants primacy to leaders and obscures their people and secondary social actors. On the other hand, Sambaraju (2022), using discourse analysis, found that a leader's utterances he investigated, exhibit that the leader gave specific instructions regarding the covid-19 restrictions and developed two sets of non-electoral relations accross his communication between himself and his people and among his people.

CONCLUSION

Results and discussions convey the conclusion that there are eight macro propositions as a result of proposition analyses. The macro propositions consist of Anies Baswedan's orders to obey regulations regarding the virus spread. In addition, this result is supported by the finding that most of the propositions belong to a directive type of speech act which functions to give order, followed by an assertive type of spech act which functions to inform a situation, express an opinion, and affirm his utterance. Further research could

examine how other leaders construct their leadership through discourse in certain situations.

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